1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

262 tion, adding that the hog and the bear fed on dirty things,
157 and yet we ate their meat with a good appetite. The cat, however, notwithstanding all the arguments in its favour, remained untouched, and was taken back by the old hunter and cook to its former place at his fire.

But now, Papunhank, whom we believed to be lost, and our guide, who once more had gone out, and exerted himself in vain to kill a deer, came in together. The guide had been desired as he pursued his hunt to look for our lost companion, and had the good luck to find him at the distance of five or six miles, with a fine deer that he had killed. He lost no time in bringing him back to our camp.

The sight of these two men dragging a large deer along was truly joyful to us, as well on account of the recovery of our lost friend, as of the meat that he brought. All felt the cravings of hunger, all were delighted with the certain prospect of immediate relief, yet no boisterous or extraordinary rejoicing took place, but all called out with one voice: *Anischi! Anischi!* we are thankful. The wild cat, which yet remained untouched, was thrown out of the camp, and dismissed by the old cook with these
261 words: "Go, cat, we do not want you this time!"

• 266 The woods and waters, at certain times and seasons,
[251] furnish to the Indians an abundant supply of wholesome nourishing food, which, if carefully gathered, cured and stored up, would serve them for the whole year, so that none need perish or even suffer from hunger; but they are not accustomed to laying in stores of provisions, except some Indian corn, dry beans and a few other articles. Hence they are sometimes reduced to great straits, and not seldom in absolute want of the necessaries of life, especially in the time of war. Yet, notwithstanding the numerous famines they have been visited with, they have among their traditions but one instance on record in which an human life was taken for the support of others, although they relate many cases

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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in which numbers of them were actually starved to death. 266
The case I allude to was so singular a circumstance, that it seems the cruel act to which it gave rise was almost unavoidable. I shall relate it here as I have received it from the most unquestionable authority.

In the winter of 1739—40, ever since remembered as the hard winter, when the ground was covered with a very deep snow, a woman with three children, was coming from beyond the Allegheny mountains on a visit to her friends or relations residing at the great island on the west branch of the Susquehannah. After she had reached [103] that river somewhere about *Achtschingi Clammui*, which the whites have corrupted into *Chingieclamoose*, the snow fell in earlier than had been before known, to such a depth, that she could not proceed any farther. She began with putting herself and her children on short allowance, in hopes that the weather might become more moderate, or the snow so hard that they could walk over it. She strove to make her little store of provisions last as long as she could, by using the grass which grew on the river's edge, and certain barks as substitutes, which she boiled to make them digestible; but more snow falling, until at last it rose to the height of a fathom or six feet, she was deprived even of that wretched food, and the wolves hovering about day and night, often attempting to rush into her little encampment, her whole time was taken up with procuring wood and making fires to prevent herself and her children from being frozen to death, and keeping those voracious animals at a distance by throwing out fire-brands to them. Her situation, at last, became intolerable. Having no alternative but that of sacrificing one of her children, she resolved on destroying the youngest, in order to preserve the others and herself from the most dreadful death. After much hesitation, she turned away her eyes and with a trembling hand gave the fatal stroke, filling at the same time the air with her loud lamentations.—She now thought she had obtain-

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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ed a temporary relief, and that she might be able to support herself and her surviving children until a change in the weather should take place, so that they could be able to proceed on their journey; but the wolves getting the scent of the slaughtered child, became more furious than before, her danger every moment became more imminent. She now filled the air with her cries and supplications to the Great Spirit that he would look down with compassion on their awful condition, and save them by his almighty power.—But still the danger increased, the horrid food was almost exhausted, and no relief came. Already she contemplated sacrificing another child; she looked at each of them again and again with a mother's eye, now resolving on killing the one, then changing her mind, and endeavouring to determine on the destruction of the other; she hesitated, wept, despaired, and the children, well understanding what she meant, prayed that they might all die together. While in this situation, her hand already lifted to strike the fatal stroke, the yell of two approaching Indians strikes her ear, and the murderous weapon falls from her hand. The men with rackets to their feet now appear and the dreadful scene is at once closed. They had provisions with them. They made a pair of rackets for the woman to walk on, and brought her and her children along in safety to the Big Island, where my informants resided at the time. I cannot remember whether they told me that they had gone to that spot in consequence of a dream, or of some strong presentiment that they should find human creatures in distress; certain I am, however, that it was owing to one or other of these causes.

[481]

[103]

The place where this awful event took place was since called *Enda Mohótink*, which means "where human flesh was eaten." This name has been very familiar to the Indians who resided in that part of the country.

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There is a spot of land at the edge of the great Pine or Beech Swamp, precisely where it is crossed by the

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Huron NG5
Cherokee NN8

are heated, and the unfortunate captive is bound to a stake placed at some distance from the fire. He is burned with the irons. Long strips of flesh are cut from his body with knives and salt is rubbed into the raw wounds. He may be half roasted at the fire, then released for a time, with a view to prolonging his tortures, which sometimes last three or four days. At length rendered insensible by pain, death may bring release, or his tormentors put an end to his sufferings and throw the mangled body into the flames. Captives often endure the torture with the greatest fortitude, sing of their heroic deeds accomplished in war, and do not let their captors notice fear or terror of death.

Now and then a condemned prisoner is released by ransom; sometimes release is refused no matter how much is offered. In the year 1779 among the Wiandots a white captive was tortured to death. Several English traders who were there offered goods to the amount of several hundred buckskins, that is so many Spanish dollars but without success. Among the Mingoes and Shawanose this inhuman method of treating captives is particularly in use. In course of the present war[71] they have given several horrid proofs of their cruel disposition.

Some years ago when a party of Shawanose went to war against the Cherokees, a young Shawanose was taken captive by the Cherokees and condemned to die. On the following day the fire was started, he was tied to the stake, and every preparation made for his execution, when a Cherokee woman arrived with a parcel of goods, and throwing them down at the feet of the warrior to whom the prisoner belonged begged for his release, alleging that she was a widow and wished to adopt him as her son. Her request was granted, the captive released and delivered over to her, and on the same day he walked up and down the village well dressed. He was so grateful to his protectress that he remained faithful to her, even returning in due time from a visit he paid to his own people.

The statement that the Indians are cannibals is unfounded in fact. It has happened in some cases that prisoners were devoured, and it may happen now on rare occasions to satisfy vengeful hate. Formerly Indians have been known in the height of their fury to tear an enemy's heart out of his body and devour

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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it raw. When an Indian nation wishes to excite another to war, it sometimes happens that they send one or more prisoners to such a nation with the words, "We send you this prisoner to make some broth," and frequently gain their aim in this fashion. The prisoner, however, is not devoured but executed without mercy. There is no rescuing him from horrible death.

Captains, when about to go to war, send to the captains of nations or towns who are in league with them a piece of tobacco to smoke, thus notifying them that they themselves will soon follow. By this they intend that the captains shall smoke their pipes and consider seriously whether they will take part in the war or not. One chief about to visit another will, similarly, send him a piece of tobacco with the message that he shall smoke, look in a certain direction and in due time he will see the sender coming. This is done to make sure that the visitor will find the chief whom he wishes to visit at home.

The last war of the nations was between the Six Nations, the Delawares and Shawanose and the Cherokees, the latter pitted against the rest. This war continued many years until peace was concluded in 1768,[272] as, a few years before, peace had been made between the Six Nations and the Catabe-Nation[273] through the mediation of Sir William Johnson at Albany. Concerning earlier Indian wars nothing is known and since that time war with the whites has engaged the attention of all the Indian nations.

With the Delawares the following nations are in league: The Mahikander,[274] the Shawanose, the Cherokees, the Twichtwes,[275] the Wawiachtanos,[276] the Kikapus,[277] the Wiondats, the Tuckachschas,[278] the Chipuways, Ottawas, the Putewoataimen[279] and the Kaskaski.[280] The two last named dwell along the Wabash.[281]

The Shawanose, who formerly lived in Florida and have ever been a warlike people, had a war with the Moshkos.[282] The latter were the stronger and the Shawanose were reduced to a few remnants. The survivors left their country, came as fugitives up the Ohio to the Susquehanna. [Susquehannah]. They moved from place to place until they fell in with a strong party of Delawares. With these they entered into negotiations, stat-

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
s = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information*

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindestrom	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chippa	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
						634	574	858	2462	191	538	576
											766	763
												155
												756
												342
Medicine—Continued												
52. Perform surgical operation				(−)		−		−	−	−	−	−
53. Unite profession with priesthood	(+)		(+)			−		−	−	−	−	−
54. Always use juggling tricks †	+	s	s	s	s	−		−	s		s	s
55. Beat on own breast	+		(+)		+	+			+	+	+	+
56. Blow in hands	+		(+)		+	+			+	−	+	+
57. Make rumbling noise	+		+	+		+			+	−	+	+
58. Blow on patient	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+
59. Rub the part affected						+			+	+	+	+
60. Have effect on patient's confidence						+			+	+	+	+
General Manners and Customs												
61. Eat human flesh			*(−)	−	−	−	•	−	−	−	−	−
62. Shake hands on meeting; inquire about health and express gladness to see	(±)			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64. Great respect paid age or rank				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
65. Visit one another for purpose of conversation	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
66. Regular parties at which they entertain				+		+	•	•	+	+	+	+
67. Practice of telling stories				+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
68. In winter and at night only						+	•	•	+	+	+	•+
69. Use words equivalent to swearing		−		−		+	−	−	−	−	−	−
70. Exhibit strong feelings of love, friendship and affection to same sex					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. to opposite sex						+	−	+	+	−	+	•
72. common to try to suppress to same sex						+	−	+	+	−	−	+
73. common to try to suppress to opposite sex						+	+	+	+	−	−	•
74. Matter of pride to suppress feelings or excitement, especially fear and shame				+		+	•	+	+	(+)	+	+
75. On return home men treat wives with indifference					+	+	+	•	−	+	−	+
76. On return home men treat children with indifference					−	−	•	•	−	−	−	−
77. Powers of recollection strong			+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
78. Any peculiarities in encampments (except war) or building of huts that distinguish from others				+		•+	•	•	•	+	•+	+

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

cloth. Doctor gets in on north side of blanket, sits on west side of hole. Has handkerchief tying hair back. Puts water next to hole. Sprinkles water with fingers on rocks, four times with left hand while feeling patient over with right. Then takes mouthful of water which he spits on rock. Makes talk, blows on patient's sternum. Then knows disease. Slaps hands together to make more steam on patient. Then goes out after five or ten minutes, covers himself with blanket for three or four minutes with handkerchief off. Then goes back in with handkerchief on repeats previous performance and begins to sing, slaps hands while singing. Goes out again. Three times is all. Third person sits outside and after third time wraps patient up and takes him home and cleans him up. Doctor then cleans up himself and sweat house and goes to see patient or patient's relatives. Tells him disease and cure which may be sweat treatment for three, four or five days, and certain foods patient cannot eat. For instance, no meat or salt, grease for six days. A little tobacco is put in fire when building it. Just a little fire. Never use rocks again. Sweat house is only for those past five years of age. When younger, doctor places them on a warm rock outside. Tells mother what to eat if baby is nursing. Give baby herbs, maybe twice a day for couple of days. Payment is voluntary."

General Manners and Customs

The practice of eating human flesh even ceremonially has been denied by the Delaware and accounts of the Delaware throughout all the years back to Lindeström (61). This Swedish writer did not explicitly deny that the Delaware ate human flesh, but in describing the practice among the Minqua he implied that it was not true of the Delaware. The Delaware have a tale of cannibalism in the very early days which was the result of famine brought on by violation of a taboo. Aside from this case they admit no knowledge of cannibalism among them. Tribes with whom they were in contact from early historic times and before practiced cannibalism ceremonially and in times of famine. These were principally the Conestoga (the Minqua of Lindeström) and Iroquois. The latter have been credited with orig-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

266 727 inating the torture of prisoners, burning at the stake, and eating of their flesh. These elements were considered to have been adopted by other tribes in retaliation. Hence it is difficult to understand how the Delaware could have escaped or withstood this influence. The only explanation that seems at all plausible is that when the Delaware were subjugated by the Iroquois early in the eighteenth century, they lost the prime reason for the practice and soon lost even the memory of it.

576 According to information from the eighteenth century and later, the Indian mode of greeting was shaking hands (62). The three manuscripts of the early nineteenth century claimed that shaking hands was a very old Indian custom and one in existence before white contact. In the national worshiping society or Big House where an effort was made to preserve ancient customs, the left hand was used. This was the hand nearer the heart and so considered to be a more direct conveyance of friendship. It is interesting to note that the two modern informants who have participated in the Big House confirmed this use of the left hand, whereas the two who have had no firsthand information of this ceremony claimed the right hand was always used by the Delaware. None of the seventeenth-century sources, including accounts not used in the tabulation, referred to hand shaking. This absence of mention is not surprising as many details were ignored by the early writers, but in the case of Williams who gave many different expressions for greetings and included a description of an Indian stroking a sachem upon both shoulders, the suggestion is strong that hand shaking was not in use until learned from the whites. Early accounts of customs at the time of contact between other tribes and whites also indicate that hand shaking was not an Indian custom. Hence, we have a custom that was borrowed from the whites some time before the accounts of the second period.

576 562 There seems to have been a change in the freedom with which emotions toward the same and the opposite sex were exhibited (70-73). Part of the responsibility for the apparent change may be assigned to a lack of information or understanding. It is doubtful if any conclusions are warranted on the basis of the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

57. Rumbling noise made by jugglers

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[756] The rumbling noise made by jugglers mentioned in the earlier accounts was replaced by singing in the accounts of J. W., W. T., and W. L., all of whom said that the sweat doctor sang or talked about his vision which gave him his power to see into the vitals of the patient and determine the nature of his illness.

GENERAL MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

61. Eating of human flesh

●266 There is no statement about the eating of human flesh in LINDESTRÖM, but there is a description of torture by fire among
[727] the Minquas, and the inference is that such was not practiced among the Delaware and, also, that the eating of human flesh was not common if present at all.

62. Handshaking

576 JOHN JOHNSTON—[Salutation is] by shaking each other by the left hand as token of friendship considering the left hand to be the nighest to the heart. They say but little, except I am glad to see you your looks are familiar the countenance expressed gladness. (Shaking hands is an Indian, and they say an ancient custom.)

CAPTAIN PIPE—Their mode of salutation in meeting is not peculiar. They sometimes express a pleasure in seeing each other, at others the simple *Anishee*, (I am thankful,) is the only expression. They do not as with us, inquire after the health of their families, but of their business, route, etc. It is believed that shaking hand is an Indian custom, but before their knowledge of the whites they used the left hand. In the Engŭmween, or wor-
[796] shiping assembly, where ancient customs are said to prevail altŏgether, they always use the left hand.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The mode of salutation is by shaking hands:—inquiries after healths succeed. The shaking of hands (say they) "was in use from the time they were created."

J. W. and W. L. say that using left hand was formerly Delaware custom.

[P. 35, B]

562
571 women, and might safely therefore be more "friendly" with them.

Oral Fixation

153 There is some evidence to suggest a preoccupation, which had a large component of aggressiveness, with oral needs. This concern with eating (and with other oral phenomena, such as ritualistic pipe-smoking, naming, and oratory), which reached far beyond subsistence requirements, can hardly be ascribed to a realistic subsistence anxiety since the Delawares had ample supplies of animal and vegetable foods at their disposal, and adequate techniques for cultivating, gathering, preserving, and storing them. It is worth [787] mentioning that the pubescent Delaware solicited the favor of a guardian spirit by self-imposed fasting; the spirit was supposed to pity him and appear in a vision; later the spirit would be important to him in helping to secure food.[23] Oral rituals, often with a compulsive quality, were a [527] recurrent institutional theme: almost all social gatherings involved eating, smoking, and oratory, and some were frankly eating-orgies—the famous "eat-all" feasts, for example; the fondness for liquor may be regarded as an oral trait of compulsive [757] character;[24] internal medicines were usually [758] taken as liquid herbal infusions, usually in large doses;[25] the sick lived on a liquid [754] diet;[26] suicide and witchcraft were both 762 accomplished in most cases by poison taken by mouth;[27] tortured prisoners were some-[727] times ceremonially eaten, and hunger ● 266 cannibalism was reported;[28] war parties made a ceremonial feast the night before their departure;[29] emetics were extensively [757] used in the treatment of disease, and vomit-777 ing was thought to relieve a sense of guilt, and also to bring luck.[30]

23. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
24. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 116; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 263.
25. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 24-25; Tantaquidgeon.
26. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 24.
27. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 125; Heckewelder, 1819, p. 258.
28. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 199; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 107-108.
29. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 103.
30. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 84, 133-134.